

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

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FOR AF ASST SECY SCHAUFELE

EO 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR AO CU EG SA UR US ZA OREP (BOWEN, DAVID)
SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL BOWEN TO ZAMBIA: DISCUSSION OF ANGOLA

1. SUMMARY. DURING THREE HOUR STOPOVER BETWEEN PLANES
IN LUSAKA JAN 17, CONGRESSMAN BOWEN MANAGED TO SQUEEZE
IN LIVELY 45 MINUTE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON ANGOLA WITH
PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER MARK CHONA AT STATE HOUSE. CODEL
STRESSED NEED FOR AFRICAN MODERATES LIKE KAUNDA TO MAKE
FORTHRIGHT PUBLIC APPEALS DIRECTLY TO UNITED STATES IF
AMERICAN CONGRESS AND PUBLIC TO BE MOVED TO LEGISLATE
ASSISTANCE FOR FNLA/UNITA. CHONA COUNTERED THAT BLATANT
SOVIET/CUBAN AGGRESSION SHOULD BE JUSTIFICATION IN ITSELF
TO AROUSE AMERICA TO EXTEND ASSISTANCE, YET HE SERIOUSLY
QUESTIONED ABILITY OF WEST TO ACT PROMPTLY AND IN ADEQUATE
MEASURE. BOTH CODEL AND CHONA SEEMED TO BENEFIT FROM
PLAIN AND AT TIMES BLUNT EXCHANGE. CODEL LOOKING TO
EARLY MEETING WITH ASST SECY SCHAUFELE ON RETURN.
END SUMMARY.

2. CODEL MADE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS TO CHONA:

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AMERICAN PUBLIC NOT AS WELL INFORMED AS IT COULD BE ABOUT

COMPLEXITIES OF ANGOLA TO MAKE INTELLIGENT, SYMPATHETIC JUDGMENT ON ASSISTANCE NEEDS. PRESIDENT KAUNDA SHOULD ADD HIS VOICE TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S AND OTHER AFRICAN MODERATES IN PUBLICIZING ANGOLAN NEEDS AND AFRICAN HOPES AND FEARS. ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD THERE BE ANY REAL EXPECTATION THAT US CONGRESS WOULD LEGISLATE FUNDS TO HELP CAUSE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND MAJORITY RULE IN ANGOLA AGAINST SOVIET-BACKED MINORITY WHICH IT SEEKS TO INSTALL AS ITS SURROGATE. IT NOT AT ALL HELPFUL THAT ZAMBIA ENTERTAINING CUBANS WITH APPARENT SHOW OF ONLY MINOR DIFFERENCES AT VERY TIME CERTAIN LIBERALS IN US CONGRESS MOUNTING MAJOR CAMPAIGN TO SUPPORT US ADMINISTRATION IN SEEKING MILITARY AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR ANGOLA TO HELP OUST SOVIETS AND CUBANS. ZAMBIA SHOULD BE CONDEMNING CUBANS IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS RATHER THAN LETTING THEM OFF SO EASILY. WHY WAS ZAMBIA NOT SENDING TROOPS TO HELP ITS BROTHERS IN ANGOLA?

3. CHONA REPLIED BY BAITING CODEL WITH QUOTATION FROM LEE KUAN YEW OF SINGAPORE WHO WONDERED IF THIRD WORLD COULD REALLY COUNT ON WESTERN ASSISTANCE TO THE FINISH IN TIME OF NEED. CHONA MADE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS: WHY IS IT THAT TYRANNY TENDS TO ACT WITH ALL DUE HASTE AS IN SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, WHILE DEMOCRACY IS OFTEN HUNG UP BY DEBATES AND BUREAUCRACY? ZAMBIA IS WELL AWARE THAT ZAIRE APPEALED TO US FOR HELP AND US SHOULD RESPOND. US SHOULD ALSO HELP ANGOLA ON STRENGTH OF DIRECT APPEALS FROM ROBERTO AND SAVIMBI AND NOT INSIST THAT HELP DEPEND ON WHAT OTHER AFRICANS LESS DIRECTLY INVOLVED HAVE TO SAY. IT OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE THAT US ATTACH WEIGHT TO FACT THAT 22 AFRICAN NATIONS MADE HISTORY AT OAU SUMMIT IN ADDIS ABABA BY AGREEING WITH US POLICY ON ANGOLA. NEVER MIND IF 22 OTHERS DID NOT, FOR MANY AMONG THEM ALSO AGREE ON GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA BUT THEIR VISION AND REASON BLURRED AND EMOTIONS STIRRED OVER SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION. AS FOR ZAMBIA'S CONCILIATORY POSTURE TOWARD CUBA, CHONA TURNED TO ME AND TOLD CODEL US DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES UNDERSTOOD AND COULD EXPLAIN (LUSAKA 116). ZAMBIAN TROOPS WOULD

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NEVER INTERVENE IN ANGOLA.

4. CODEL ASKED FOR ZAMBIAN OPINION ON POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING SAUDI ARABIAN FINANCING FOR PURCHASE OF SOPHISTICATED EGYPTIAN WEAPONRY FOR ANGOLA (WHICH SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT HAVE) AND RECRUITMENT OF FOREIGN MERCENARIES TO FILL VACUUM IF AND WHEN SOUTH AFRICA WITHDRAWS, WHICH CODEL FOUND IS PRESENT MOOD OF SOUTH

AFRICANS. THIS COULD LAY GROUND, CODEL CONTINUED, FOR MAKING DEAL WITH SOVIETS AND BUANS. CHONA CUT CODEL SHORT BY SAYING HE UNINFORMED ON THESE POINTS.

5. CODEL THEN ASKED CHONA TO TELL HIM WHAT HE MIGHT SAY TO MISSISSIPPI CONSTITUENTS AND CONGRESSIONAL OPPONENTS WHO ARGUE WHY AFTER VIETNAM SHOULD US GET INVOLVED IN A PLACE THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY WHEN AFRICANS GENERALLY NOT ASKING US; BESIDES, WHEN THE WAR IS OVER IN ANGOLA THEY WILL PROBABLY INSTALL SOME SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT THERE WHICH WILL RECEIVE SOVIET AID BUT POSE NO REAL SECURITY THREAT TO US. CHONA SAID HIS ONLY ANSWER WAS TO ADVISE THESE AMERICANS TO LOOK AT SOMALIA, GUINEA AND CONGO BRAZZAVILLE. DOES AMERICA REALLY WANT TO CONDEMN MORE AFRICANS TO THAT FATE BY FAILURE TO ACT?

6. BOTH CHONA AND CODEL WERE CRITICAL OF CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS WHICH THEY BELIEVED LACKS THE FACTS ON REALITIES OF SOVIET THREAT AND CUBAN PROXY, AND NEEDS OF ANGOLANS TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE.

7. DEBATE WAS AMICABLE BUT SHARP POINTED WITH CHONA MUCH MORE WASPISH THAN CUSTOMARY. CODEL CONCLUDED THAT FIGHT FOR CONGRESSIONAL HELP WILL BE DIFFICULT; HE NOT VERY SANGUINE BUT WOULD SUPPORT ADMINISTRATION POLICY SEEKING NEEDED ASSISTANCE FOR ANGOLA.

8. JUST BEFORE EMBARKING AT AIRPORT, CODEL TOLD ME HE ANXIOUS TO MEET ASST SECY SCHAUFELE SOON AFTER HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON FOR OPENING OF CONGRESS JAN 19.

9. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH PASS OTHER POSTS AS APPROPRIATE.
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